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Building Cultural Capability for Full-Spectrum Operations

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Building Cultural Capability for Full-Spectrum Operations

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FOREWORD

The U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences (ARI) is the Army's lead laboratory conducting research, development, and analysis on training, leader development, and Soldier issues. ARI's focus is the human element in the Army. Within its mission, ARI conducts analyses to address short-term issues and respond to emerging topics as requested by Army leaders or organizations.

The Cultural Understanding and Language Proficiency (CULP) research analysis was conducted in response to a request from the U. S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), carried out under a memorandum for record between the Director of Center for Army Leadership, Combined Arms Center, and the Chief of the Leader Development Research Unit (LDRU), ARI. The goal of this effort was to provide a scientific research perspective on the topic of increasing linguistic and cultural capability in the Army.

The CULP analysis had three objectives: 1) to identify the knowledge of culture and identity needed by Army leaders, 2) to identify measures and predictors of effective performance in cross-cultural settings, and 3) to determine the extent to which proficiency in a foreign language provides transferable skills. Measures and predictors of cross-cultural competence are reviewed in a separate report, as are language transfer issues. The first objective, to identify components of culture and identity that are relevant to Army leaders, was addressed in a workshop.

This report summarizes findings from the workshop and also presents recommendations from both the cross-cultural competence and language reports. The research summarized here was presented to the sponsor, Center for Army Leadership, in a final project briefing on 13 November 2007, and portions of this work have been presented at other meetings and conferences. Findings were presented at the Culture and Language Strategy Conference hosted by TRADOC G-2 on 29 August 2007 and at the Army Language and Culture Enterprise meeting hosted by HQDA G-3/5/7 on 6 September 2007. This work was also presented at the Department of Defense Regional and Cultural Expertise Summit, 6 June 2007, and Pedagogy for the Long War, a joint conference sponsored by the Marine Corps Training and Education Command and the U.S. Naval Academy, 31 October 2007.



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Director

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Many individuals contributed their time and expertise by participating in the workshop. Thanks to Colonel Jeffrey D. Ingram, Colonel Frank Miskena, Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vaughn, Kim Brown, Laurene Christensen, Mitch Hammer, and Joan Rentsch for their presentations and to the participants named elsewhere in this report. Finally, thanks to Kathy Quinkert and Michelle Wisecarver for their thoughtful comments on this work and to Dorothy Young for being so responsive to my many requests for help in finding research references.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Research Requirement:

Recent and ongoing military operations have required Army leaders and Soldiers to interact with and influence people from diverse regions and cultures. Language skills and cultural understanding are increasingly critical to the success of Army leaders, particularly for stability and support operations. The importance of cultural considerations has been widely recognized across the Army, appearing throughout current Army doctrine and in reports of leaders' operational experiences.

In 2006, the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) requested that the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences (ARI) conduct a research-based analysis to answer questions on three topics:

- 1) What do Army leaders need to know and understand about culture and identity?
- 2) What traits and characteristics correlate with learning about and operating in different cultures?
- 3) What is the relationship between language proficiency and cultural understanding, and to what extent does learning a second language affect learning other languages?

Procedure:

ARI approached these topics using two different methods. Topics 2 and 3 were each addressed in a review of the relevant research literature. Topic 1 was addressed through a workshop co-sponsored by the Center for Army Leadership and ARI. This report describes themes and findings from the workshop and presents a synthesis of conclusions and recommendations derived from an integration of the workshop results with findings from the literature reviews.

Findings:

Findings strongly support the role of culture-general skills and affect. Workshop discussions emphasized that cross-cultural training should place priority on generalizable concepts about culture and skills that enable leaders and Soldiers to learn about and adapt to unfamiliar cultural environments on their own. In particular, interpersonal skills, non-ethnocentric attitudes, and openness emerged from workshop discussions and the literature as some of the most consistent contributors to success in cross-cultural settings. Foreign language plays a role, but its contribution to a broad cultural capability is limited and small relative to culture-general affect, skills, and characteristics.

Workshop discussions also emphasized that cultural capability must be addressed throughout DOTMLPF and recommended that an Army proponent for culture be established to ensure implementation of a coherent strategy. It is also recommended that culture be incorporated at all levels of training and education, with differing emphasis of cross-cultural

competence, culture-specific knowledge, and language proficiency at various levels, so that culture is seen as an integral consideration in full-spectrum operations.

Utilization and Dissemination of Findings:

Findings from this analysis inform the Army of the research foundation for increasing linguistic and cultural capability in Soldiers and leaders. Findings have already contributed a research perspective to the development of a culture and language strategy at TRADOC. This research can further be used in identifying and prioritizing learning domains for education, training and leader development. Findings point to areas where existing training can be strengthened and gaps that future training and education can address.

BUILDING CULTURAL CAPABILITY FOR FULL-SPECTRUM OPERATIONS

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Building Cultural Capability for Full-Spectrum Operations

Recent and ongoing military operations have required Army leaders and Soldiers to interact with and influence people from diverse regions and cultures. Language skills and cultural understanding are increasingly critical to the success of Army leaders, particularly for stability and support operations. The importance of cultural considerations has been widely recognized across the Army, appearing throughout current Army doctrine. For example, doctrine on stability and support operations, Field Manual (FM) 3-07, and on counterinsurgency, FM 3-24, discuss the role of culture in understanding the impact of operations on the civilian population and on negotiations with indigenous leaders. FMs 3-0 and 3-16 describes the importance of cultural understanding in establishing effective relationships with multinational partners. In addition, in FM 6-22, leader competencies and attributes include consideration of cultural factors in communication and knowledge of cultural differences.

Cultural considerations are similarly pervasive in Army leaders' operational experiences. In a recent Company Command survey of current and recent company commanders, some of the most frequently cited wartime leadership challenges included an intercultural component (Company Command, 2007). Three of the top six challenges included interacting or working with indigenous leaders, security forces, or members of the population. In addition to impacting these tactical interactions in a foreign culture, culture is an operational and strategic factor in full-spectrum operations. Of Operation Iraqi Freedom, LTG Chiarelli noted that, "Understanding the effect of operations as seen through the lens of the Iraqi culture and psyche is a foremost planning consideration for every operation" (Chiarelli & Michaelis, 2005, p. 14).

Lessons from recent and current operations reflect consensus that culture is important; the challenge now is to determine how training, education, and leader development can best equip leaders and Soldiers with the necessary knowledge and skills. Building this cultural capability includes three interrelated components, including knowledge of the specific region or culture, proficiency in the language spoken in that culture, and general knowledge and skills that support adaptation in any cross-cultural setting, referred to here as cross-cultural competence (see Figure 1). The CULP analysis was designed primarily to address the role of general knowledge and skills and their relationship with foreign language proficiency.

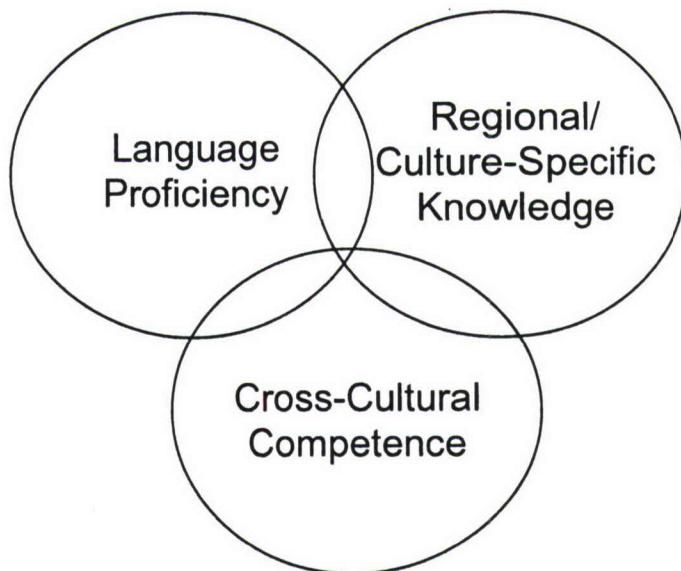


Figure 1. Components of cultural capability

In 2006, the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) requested that the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences (ARI) conduct a research-based analysis to provide a scientific perspective on increasing cultural understanding and language capability in the Army. In response to this request, ARI conducted the Cultural Understanding and Language Proficiency (CULP) analysis in collaboration with, and under a Memorandum for Record with, the Center for Army Leadership (CAL)¹.

The goal of the Cultural Understanding and Language Proficiency (CULP) analysis was to address the role of general knowledge and skills in cultural capability and to examine their relationship with foreign language proficiency, thus informing the Army of the research foundation for increasing linguistic and cultural capability in Soldiers and leaders. CAL posed questions on three topics:

- 1) What do Army leaders need to know and understand about culture and identity?
- 2) What traits and characteristics correlate with learning about and operating in different cultures?
- 3) What is the relationship between language proficiency and cultural understanding, and to what extent does learning a second language affect learning other languages?

ARI approached these topics using two different methods. Topics 2 and 3 were each addressed in a review of the relevant research literature (see Abbe, Gulick, & Herman, 2007, and Brown, Christensen, & Abbe, in preparation). However, because no single, empirical body of literature could be identified that explicitly addressed the first question, that topic was addressed through a workshop co-sponsored by CAL and ARI. This report describes themes and findings from the workshop and will present a synthesis of conclusions and recommendations derived from an integration of the workshop

¹ A list of acronyms appears in Appendix A

results with findings from the literature reviews on cross-cultural competence and second language acquisition.

Workshop

The workshop was held 11-13 July 2007 at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The goal of the workshop was to specify the cultural knowledge and skills needed by Army leaders and Soldiers to work effectively across cultures. The workshop included formal presentations on topics from the CULP analysis and working group discussions on specific topics.

Participants

Participants in the workshop included subject matter experts from within and outside the Department of Defense (DoD). Representatives from within DoD included personnel from the Army and other services involved in culture and language training. Participants from outside DoD were university faculty from the disciplines of anthropology, applied linguistics, intercultural communications, international management, political science, and psychology. The organizations and academic institutions represented at the workshop are listed in Appendix B. ARI-LDRU staff served as facilitators for the working group discussions.

Format

Presentations on Days 1 and 2 of the workshop provided operational and research perspectives on cultural and language knowledge and skills. The workshop included a presentation from COL Jeffrey Ingram, Commander, 1st Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division, on cultural training for Military Transition Teams. Other presentations addressed cross-cultural perspective taking, intercultural development and intercultural conflict, and the relationship between knowing a foreign language and development of cultural understanding (see Table 1). Slides from these presentations are available from the author on request.

Table 1. Workshop Presentations

Speaker	Title
COL Jeffrey Ingram with COL Frank Miskena and LTC Chris Vaughn	Where we are now vs. where we want to be: An operational perspective
Dr. Joan Rentsch	Schema for cultural understanding: Developing a key multicultural perspective taking competency
Dr. Kim Brown and Laurene Christensen	Entering the language and culture contact zone: A view from the air and a view from the field
Dr. Mitchell Hammer	Intercultural conflict resolution and competence development for operational environments

On each day of the workshop, participants met in working groups of to discuss questions related to their areas of expertise. Working groups discussed cultural knowledge, the relationship between language skills and cultural understanding, the role of cultural identity, the development of general cross-cultural skills, and other topics. Discussions on Day 1 focused on cultural knowledge; Day 2 focused on application of that knowledge; and Day 3 focused on training and education. In addition, two groups on Day 3 were asked to discuss the CULP standards (2006). The topics and sample discussion questions from the working group sessions are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Workshop discussion topics

Cultural knowledge
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the advantages and disadvantages of existing frameworks for culture and cultural differences? • Which dimensions or aspects of culture are most relevant to the Army context? • What are the critical cultural differences between military cultures of difference nations?
Relationship between language and cultural understanding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the relationship between language proficiency and regional expertise? • What degree of proficiency is needed to be beneficial?
Cultural identity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does culture influence the development of an individual's identity? • How does cultural identity influence behavior in intercultural interactions?
Development of general cross-cultural skills
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What skills or abilities are needed to operate effectively in cross-cultural settings? • How do the relevant skills or abilities differ across operational contexts? • How should the relevant knowledge, skills, and other competencies be assessed?
Revisiting the CULP standards
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the appropriate progression of knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs)? • To what extent to the KSAs converge to form a core set needed by all Army leaders? Where should they diverge?
Training and education considerations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What training delivery methods are most appropriate for different knowledge or skills? • Which skills or knowledge are most responsive to training and education? • What is the appropriate balance of culture-general and culture-specific education or training?

Results

Seven themes emerged from the working group discussions. These themes are summarized in Table 3 and discussed in greater detail below. Keep in mind that these findings are the informed opinions of the experts convened in the workshop, and are not derived directly from empirical evidence.

Table 3. Themes from Workshop Discussions

<ul style="list-style-type: none">1. Learning about culture is at least as important as knowing about culture.2. Knowledge is not enough.3. Despite effective means to teach and measure it, foreign language proficiency continues to present challenges.4. Culture is relevant to the full spectrum of operations.5. Culture should be incorporated into training and education at all levels.6. Culture must extend beyond training and education.7. Self-development in these areas should be supported, but not mandated.
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1. Learning about culture is at least as important as knowing about culture.

Leaders will inevitably encounter situations in another culture that do not meet their expectations. Even if provided with highly accurate region- or culture-specific information in training, leaders will not be able to anticipate every impact of cultural differences. In addition, time constraints sometimes limit cross-cultural training to a focus on generalizations about a culture and its members. It is important that cross-cultural training address how to detect cultural impacts and how to make sense of new information about a foreign culture.

Workshop participants frequently emphasized that cross-cultural training should prioritize *how* to think over *what* to think. Teaching how to acquire and make sense of cultural information will enable Soldiers to avoid converting generalizations that can guide behavior into rigid stereotypes that merely limit understanding. Focusing on facts about a culture and a list of Do's and Don'ts ignores the complexities of culture. Culture is dynamic, and although national boundaries may be clear, cultural boundaries frequently are not. Soldiers and leaders need not only cultural understanding, but also perceptual acuity – the ability to observe and interpret cultural information encountered through one's own experiences.

2. Knowledge is not enough.

Workshop participants identified existing general cultural frameworks that may provide a knowledge base for military leaders. For example, dimensions from the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) project (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004) were suggested as one approach with potential utility for the Army. The dimensions identified in the GLOBE study of 62 national/societal cultures are power distance, future orientation, uncertainty avoidance, gender egalitarianism, performance orientation, institutional collectivism, family collectivism, assertiveness, and humane orientation. The advantage of such frameworks is that they provide a basis for understanding both cultural differences *and* cultural similarities, which was identified by workshop participants as an area insufficiently addressed by current cultural training.

However, relatively little discussion during the workshop focused on cultural knowledge. Instead, working groups emphasized the importance of skills and affect. In particular, good

interpersonal skills may overcome deficits in language skills or in cultural knowledge. Interpersonal skills are highly generalizable, enabling one to interact effectively across cultures. Flexible thinking and self-regulation (e.g., emotional intelligence) were also identified as skills needed for any cross-cultural setting.

Workshop discussions also emphasized the importance of affect, which has been overlooked relative to cultural knowledge and skills. In this context, affect includes non-ethnocentric attitudes and motivation for culture and language training and education. Affect is an integral part of developing knowledge and skills; attitudes can either inhibit or facilitate learning. Training that includes the role of culture in one's own beliefs, values, and behavior may be one way to address the affective component.

3. Despite effective means to teach and measure it, foreign language proficiency continues to present challenges.

Consensus emerged that learning a foreign language is beneficial, even if the particular foreign language is not needed or used in future operations. Potential benefits include facilitation in learning additional languages and implications for affect and motivation, such as learning the value of languages and otherwise increasing positive attitudes toward foreign language learning. Participants recommended compiling a list of target languages that includes not just languages of strategic importance, but also languages that may contribute to a broader cultural capability or greater ability to learn additional languages.

However, beyond these recommendations, workshop discussions on language proficiency generated more questions than answers. Some questions were a) what degree of proficiency is needed to yield benefits; b) what are the language needs by military occupational specialty (MOS); c) assuming that not everyone can or will study a strategic language, what are the best languages to study; d) how can we increase motivation to learn foreign languages among non-language professionals; e) for non-language professionals, do higher levels of proficiency correspond with higher levels of effectiveness? Participants recommended a language needs analysis by MOS.

4. Culture is relevant to the full spectrum of operations.

Although it has particular relevance to stability and support operations, culture was viewed as a factor even in conventional combat operations. Cultural understanding is important in considering the impact of the local civilian population on military operations, as well as in predicting and understanding adversary intent in planning and conducting conventional operations. In addition, the need to transition between types of operations in any particular conflict further blurs distinctions that may attempt to isolate where culture is a central vs. peripheral issue.

Workshop participants also highlighted the overlap between skills needed to work effectively in foreign cultures and those needed to respond to diversity within the U.S. Army. Some skills are relevant to situations in which there is any perception of difference, which may be cultural in nature, but may sometimes involve other differences, such as race or gender. One way to overcome barriers that result from the perception of difference is to find elements of shared identity. The ability to look past gender, racial, or cultural differences to find common ground contributes to collaboration and

teamwork, as well as positive intergroup relations more generally, and where similarities may not already exist, new shared patterns can be established (e.g., in hybrid or negotiated cultures; Brannen, 1998; Earley & Mosakowski, 2000). Although an emphasis on commonality does not eliminate salient and potentially important differences, it can help minimize the negative impact of those differences.

5. Culture should be incorporated into training and education at all levels.

The development of cross-cultural knowledge and skills takes time and should not be left to pre-deployment training. Some skills were identified as relevant across echelons, whereas others were identified as more relevant for mid- to senior-level leaders. Developing these more advanced competencies, such as negotiation and mediation skills and the ability to anticipate second and third order effects of operations, will require some foundational skills, such as basic interpersonal skills and cultural knowledge. Although necessary to short-term knowledge needs, a country- or region-specific briefing during pre-deployment will be insufficient to develop the more general and advanced knowledge and skills.

This recommendation does not necessarily entail linear increases in the number of hours of training or resources required. To maximize learning and development opportunities under time and resource constraints, efforts should identify where culture can be incorporated into existing training. Incorporating culture into training and education, rather than simply adding it on, will also help convey that cultural considerations are integral to full-spectrum operations and not an alternative to or a distraction from warfighting capabilities.

Workshop participants noted that the Army already has many resources and mechanisms for improving cultural knowledge and cross-cultural competence. The Combat Training Centers were noted as an excellent opportunity to practice cross-cultural skills introduced elsewhere in training and education. Center for Army Lessons Learned and the TRADOC Culture Center were also identified as excellent resources that are currently not well-utilized for cultural training and education. A clearinghouse for these resources would ensure greater awareness and accessibility of these resources for operational units.

6. Culture must extend beyond training and education.

It is not enough just to incorporate culture into training and professional military education. Cultural capability must be addressed in an overall strategy addressing doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leader development, personnel, and facilities (DOTMLPF). In particular, a broad and enduring cultural capability will not be achieved until the relevant competencies are recognized and rewarded through the personnel system. Workshop participants discussed the need for an Army-wide proponent for cultural capabilities, to ensure the development and implementation of a coherent strategy on language and culture. Participants also recommended that a needs analysis be conducted to identify which language and cross-cultural knowledge and skills are needed for different job functions.

7. Self-development in these areas should be supported, but not mandated.

Self-development of language proficiency and cultural capability has a role, but workshop participants expressed concern about mandating self-development, especially for language. Self-

development is beneficial in that it draws on an individual leader's personal motivation and is more likely to fit the individual's current state of development than are training and education efforts. However, additional demands on the personal time of personnel are likely to decrease motivation and may elicit negative reactions among military personnel. Thus, the Army should provide resources for self-development, but should see self-development as supplemental rather than as central to building cultural capability, particularly at lower levels. Certain experiences, both personal and professional, may facilitate the development of cross-cultural competence, but the nature and role of those experiences is not yet clear.

Discussion and Recommendations

The workshop discussions and literature reviews provided partial answers to the questions posed in the proposal and helped to identify where additional research is needed. In this section, conclusions and recommendations for each of the three major analysis questions are presented, and gaps in the research literature are noted.

What do Army leaders need to know and understand about culture and identity?

Cultural knowledge may be either culture- or region-specific, consisting of in-depth knowledge about a particular culture, or may be culture-general, consisting of knowledge of cultural differences in general. Though knowledge is a common focus of cross-cultural training, very little research has addressed what knowledge is important to guide behavior in cross-cultural settings. Cultural self-awareness is a critical first step. Understanding that one's own beliefs, values, and behavior are embedded in a cultural context is necessary to understanding the cultural basis for others' beliefs, values, and behavior.

Beyond this cultural self-awareness, there is little consensus on how much and what type of cultural knowledge is needed to yield benefits in terms of cross-cultural outcomes. This is particularly true for individuals for whom cultural understanding is an enabling factor, not a primary focus for their role. Furthermore, research has not yet examined the knowledge that facilitates adjusting to any culture. General cultural dimensions are used in corporate cross-cultural training, but evidence for the utility of this training approach is not yet available in the research literature. Future research must address what the knowledge content of training should look like – e.g., whether this comparative approach is appropriate, or whether teaching a set of principles and methods along the lines of those used in anthropology is more effective.

In any case, workshop findings support the development of a culture-general approach to cultural knowledge acquisition. Evidence suggests that such an approach will build the transferable knowledge structures, or cross-cultural schema, needed by general-purpose forces that may deploy to multiple countries or regions over a career. In addition, culture-general knowledge is a useful supplement to overcome some of the limitations of culture-specific training. Developing culture-specific training materials that have high validity and relevance is dependent on subject matter experts (SMEs) who are highly knowledgeable of the nation or region of interest. It can sometimes be difficult to assess the degree of expertise or to attain agreement among SMEs. In addition, new training content

must be developed for every region separately. Cross-cultural schema would reduce dependence on this type of training as the sole or primary source of cultural knowledge.

Furthermore, knowing about a culture may not be the same as understanding culture. Rather than acquiring a fixed set of facts about cultures in general, or about a region or group of people, understanding culture requires the ability and willingness to update one's knowledge as new information is encountered. Understanding culture demands increasing complexity in one's knowledge structures to accommodate new information. An increasingly complex understanding of culture takes time to develop, and should therefore be addressed at different levels of the Army's Professional Military Education system (PME).

Increasing cognitive complexity enables one to get beyond the "sophisticated stereotyping" (Osland & Bird, 2000) of some approaches to cultural difference, in which cultures are characterized by where they fall on a small set of dimensions (House et al., 2004). Such frameworks have some utility but do not address variation within cultures. Variation between individuals within a given culture is of critical importance when interacting with or attempting to anticipate the behavior of individuals or groups.

One perspective on cultural differences that addresses such variation views cultural influences on individuals as situation-dependent (Hong & Chiu, 2001). This dynamic constructivist perspective views the effects of culture as a function of the interaction between individual cultural identity and situational factors activating (or dampening) that identity (e.g., Hong, Ip, Chiu, Morris, & Menon, 2001). Some variables shown to activate culturally-based cognition and affect in previous research include the language (Perunovic, Heller, & Rafaeli, 2007) and the symbols (e.g., national flag; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000) of one's home culture. This emerging theoretical perspective continues to gain support in the literature, and it shows great promise as a source for understanding how culture is manifested in individual identity and behavior.

What traits and characteristics correlate with learning about and operating in different cultures?

Cross-cultural competence model. We conducted an extensive review of the empirical literature in order to address this question (Abbe et al., 2007). Although there is a long history of research on a broad array of factors that influence behavior in cross-cultural settings, there is no single coherent integration of the various findings on different aspects of the question. Abbe et al. (2007) therefore developed a model that helps to clarify the relationships among the various individual characteristics which influence outcomes in this domain (see Figure 2).

The core element in the model is cross-cultural competence, defined here as the mix of knowledge, skills, and affect/motivation that enable individuals to adapt and perform effectively in cross-cultural environments. As defined here, cross-cultural competence develops over time and contributes to intercultural effectiveness regardless of the particular intersection of cultures. The knowledge, skill and affective elements included in the competence definition are limited to those characteristics that are directly related to cross-cultural outcomes and are amenable to education, training, or experience. This concept of cross-cultural competence shares similarities with that proposed by Selmeski (2007), particularly in that both argue for the importance of culture-general

knowledge and skills and emphasize the role of learning and development in acquiring those knowledge and skills.

As depicted in Figure 2, both language capability and culture- or region-specific knowledge may contribute to intercultural effectiveness, but are not themselves within the core definition of cross-cultural competence; this is discussed further below. In addition, characteristics that cannot be influenced may also be relevant, but would have to be targeted through selection rather than education or training. These characteristics are discussed as antecedent variables below.

Intercultural effectiveness. Interest in cross-cultural competence is due to a very practical interest in predicting and improving intercultural effectiveness. To address effectiveness, the model in Figure 2 identifies three primary types of outcomes that would be of interest. These outcomes of interest include job performance and work adjustment, personal adjustment, and success in building interpersonal relationships. Although job performance may often be the primary outcome of interest, personal adjustment and interpersonal adjustment are treated as equally important due to their long-term implications. In particular, personal adjustment is expected to be relevant to retention, and interpersonal relationships are expected to be relevant to establishing and maintaining relationships that may have long-term operational or strategic importance.

Although the term ‘intercultural’ is generally used in the literature to mean ‘international,’ it may also include cultural differences other than those at the national or societal level. Some researchers have argued that organizational differences may be even more important than national differences in the military context (e.g., Soeters, Poponete, & Page, 2006). Because the research foundation for this effort focused almost exclusively on individuals working in foreign countries, the regional and culture-specific portion of the model is primarily intended to refer to nations or regions, although other levels of culture may also be relevant.

Antecedent variables. Other characteristics, shown in Figure 2 as Antecedent Variables, are expected to contribute to the development of cross-cultural competence, but do not in themselves provide the knowledge, affect, or skills needed for intercultural effectiveness. Stable, dispositional traits such as conscientiousness, extraversion, emotional stability, and self-monitoring have been identified as predictors of adjustment and performance in cross-cultural settings (e.g., Mol, Born, Willemsen, & Van der Molen, 2005; Caligiuri & Day, 2000).

In addition to these broad traits, antecedents to cross-cultural competence include life-history, or biographical, variables like prior international experience. International experiences provide opportunities to develop cross-cultural competence, but frequently do not by themselves lead to greater cross-cultural competence (Bhaskar-Shrinivas, Harrison, Shaffer, & Luk, 2005, Hechanova, Beehr, & Christiansen, 2003; Mol et al., 2005).

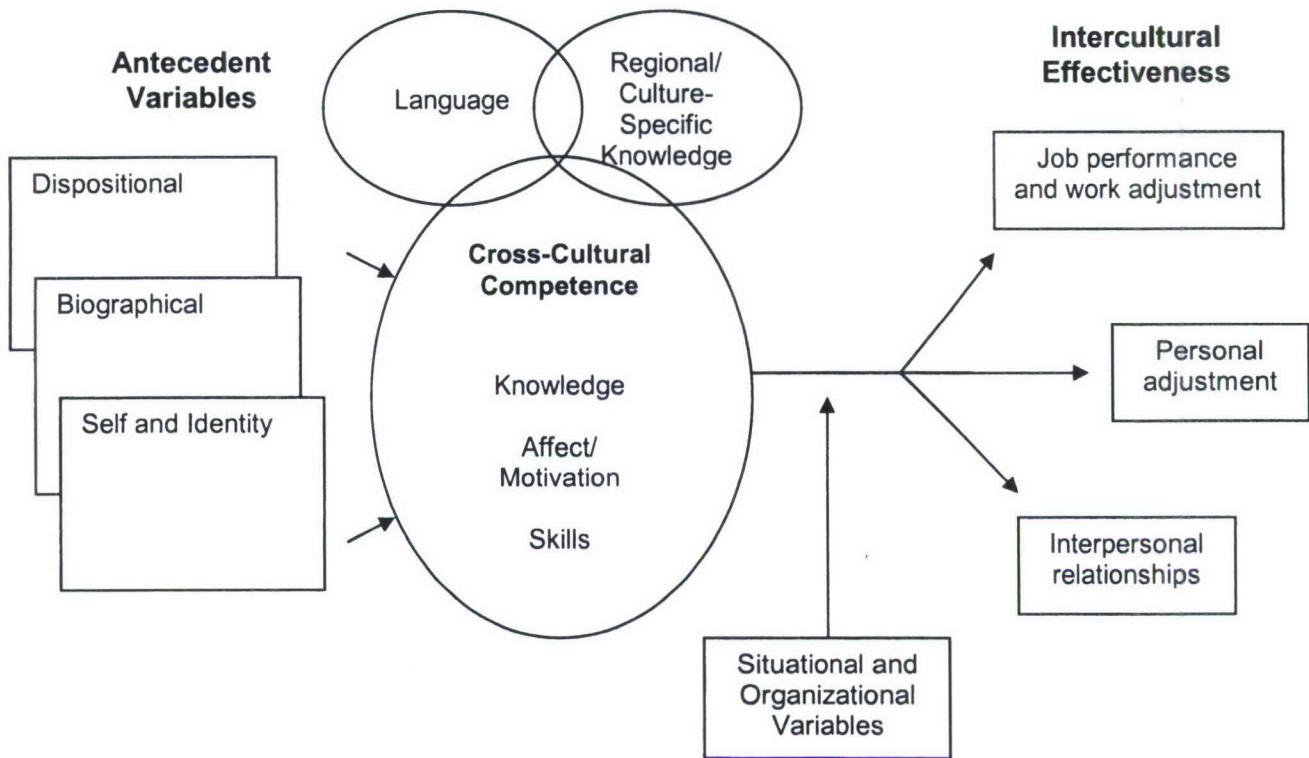


Figure 2. A general framework for cross-cultural competence

Another set of antecedents includes variables related to self and identity. For example, previous research has indicated that ego strength and self-efficacy, or beliefs about one's own capabilities are predictive of expatriate success (Mischel, 1965; Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al., 2005). Although direct links between identity and cross-cultural outcomes are less well-established in empirical research, recent research suggests that cultural aspects of identity may be important to the development of cross-cultural competence (cf. Benet-Martinez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Chao & Moon, 2005).

Recommended emphasis in training and education. Empirically established relationships between the antecedent variables and outcomes of interest are small relative to relationships between dimensions of cross-cultural competence and outcomes. In addition, the relationships of language and regional knowledge with outcomes have been found to be relatively small. These findings support an education and training approach rather than a selection approach to intercultural readiness and, more specifically, point to the need for education that is culture-general in nature. Culture-general education can build the knowledge, affect, and skills that support effectiveness in any culture, thereby building a more generalizable capability for general-purpose forces.

Table 4 lists variables within each dimension of cross-cultural competence that previous research has shown either are directly related to greater intercultural effectiveness or have strong links to other dimensions. In particular, interpersonal skills are among the strongest predictors of successful performance and adjustment in cross-cultural settings (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al., 2005; Cui & Awa, 1992; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Hechanova et al., 2003). In addition, self-regulation has been shown to be critical for adjustment (Matsumoto et al., 2003; van Oudenhoven, Mol, & Van der Zee, 2003).

In the affective domain, holding non-ethnocentric attitudes is predictive of job performance and adjustment (Mol et al., 2003; Shaffer, Harrison, Gregersen, Black, & Ferzandi, 2006), showing stronger effects than both language proficiency and prior international experience (Mol et al.). Empathy, or that ability to feel the emotions of others (without personally adopting them), has also emerged in recent research as an important to adjustment, health, and social interaction in a foreign culture (Leong, 2007; van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002).

Each of the three components of cross-cultural competence is expected to shift over time. These shifts are not necessarily uni-directional; cross-cultural experiences can lead to development of cross-cultural competence, but also to regression if Soldiers and leaders are not prepared for those experiences. For example, the stress of combat operations and repeated deployments could lead to the adoption of knowledge structures that simplify culture. Bi-directional shifts along the affective dimension may also occur.

It should be noted that the extent to which each dimension and its various components are trainable is unclear. Some are readily trainable, whereas others may be more stable and dispositional. Previous research does not provide a clear basis for distinctions between stable traits and the more dynamic dimensions comprising cross-cultural competence as defined here. Thus, this aspect of the model has yet to be tested.

Table 4. Three Dimensions of Cross-Cultural Competence

Knowledge and Cognition	Affect and Motivation	Skills
Cultural self-awareness	Attitudes and initiative	Interpersonal skills
Cross-cultural schema	Openness	Self-regulation
Cognitive complexity	Empathy	Flexibility: Frame shifting, perspective taking

As discussed above and in more detail in Abbe et al. (2007), neither culture-specific knowledge nor prior international experience has been shown to have much impact on individuals' intercultural effectiveness. The culture-general elements of cross-cultural competency as shown in Figure 2 and listed in Table 3 need to be explicitly addressed and emphasized in cultural training and education in the Army. Although cultural self-awareness is addressed to some extent in existing training, the other aspects of cross-cultural competence have not yet been targeted. Current education and training may implicitly address some of these components, but typically do not include them in the learning objectives. The affect and skills dimensions have been particularly neglected despite the fact that they are critical to success in cross-cultural settings.

Measurement of cross-cultural competence. In reviewing the literature on cross-cultural competence and related constructs, existing measures were identified, several of which have accumulated a body of evidence supporting their reliability and validity. Some well-established measures are the Intercultural Development Inventory, the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire, and the Intercultural Adjustment Potential Scale. Measures with emerging support include the Cultural

Intelligence Scale and the Global Competencies Inventory. However, existing measures were developed for student or manager populations and have not yet been validated with military personnel (Abbe et al., 2007). These measures are potentially useful for selecting personnel for specific roles (e.g., advisors) or for evaluating training effects, but should not be adopted for use with a military population without additional research. A critical first step is to confirm which traits, knowledge, skills, and affect comprise general cross-cultural competence and therefore are related to intercultural effectiveness as shown in Figure 2. Additional research is also needed to adapt or develop and validate measures of: a) components of cross-cultural competence; b) general cross-cultural competence as a whole; and c) outcomes of interest.

It will be necessary to develop a set of tools to address the range of assessment needs in the Army for this domain. For example, a measure that helps identify personnel best suited for advising foreign security forces may be quite different from a measure that assesses development resulting from training or experience. At a minimum, an assessment tool or set of tools that meet Army needs will ideally:

- be based on a model of cross-cultural competence that allows for development over time;
- show evidence of validity in military personnel drawn from general-purpose forces; and
- use a multimethod approach to minimize the limitations of self-report.

What is the relationship between language proficiency and cultural understanding, and to what extent does learning a second language affect learning other languages?

Language proficiency, cultural understanding, and language understanding are interrelated. However, at lower levels, language proficiency beyond some minimal vocabulary is neither a necessary nor sufficient condition for learning about or operating within a culture. A little language can go a long way in conveying respect for members of the local population or coalition partners, but interpersonal skills frequently enable Soldiers to overcome language barriers. Indeed, meta-analyses have shown that interpersonal skills and cultural sensitivity contribute more to successful intercultural outcomes than language proficiency (Bhaskar-Shrinivas et al., 2005; Hechanova et al., 2003; Mol et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the empirical research shows that language proficiency is generally overrated as a contributing factor to success. For some, inability to speak the language may be perceived as a source of stress and frustration (Paige, 1993), which may lead some to overestimate the role of language proficiency in intercultural success.

In addition, although communicating with members of a culture in their native language helps one learn about the culture, language proficiency may not provide the same benefit to every second language learner. One's motivation for learning and using the language may be a factor. For those motivated to communicate with and learn about the local population, second language proficiency is likely to be beneficial in learning about the culture. In contrast, for those who see second language proficiency primarily as a means to achieve other ends, such as getting a job done, second language proficiency may not contribute to cultural understanding.

Despite the limited role of language in producing cultural understanding and successful outcomes, learning a second language may have benefits for learning additional languages. Knowing a

second language provides a language learner with a larger set of strategies on which to draw when learning an additional language. More specifically, bilinguals tend to have greater cognitive flexibility and metalinguistic awareness (Jessner, 1999), which are then applied to acquisition of a third language. Findings are equivocal, however, with one study finding no difference in metalinguistic awareness between students highly competent in two languages and students highly competent in one (Lasagabaster, 1998). Further research is needed to determine whether a second language produces demonstrable benefits in learning additional languages and what level of proficiency may be necessary to achieve those benefits. In addition, much of the research on third language acquisition has sampled bilingual children or adolescents learning a third language at school, and it is unclear how generalizable those findings are to older learner populations. Further research is needed to examine the benefits of second and third language acquisition in adult learners.

Other considerations for education, training, and self-development

Preparing Soldiers and Army leaders to operate in foreign cultures has taken a variety of forms. Some cross-cultural training focuses on improving an individual's knowledge of the specific region or culture they will encounter. Recent approaches to cross-cultural training within the Army have frequently taken this approach (e.g., the GlobeSmart Soldier tool). Another approach is to teach individuals the language spoken in the region to which they will deploy. A third approach is to provide individuals with generalizable concepts and skills related to culture. Findings from the CULP analysis indicate that this latter approach warrants greater attention and resources, particularly in PME. This culture-general approach is not new, but rather was the focus of earlier research and training, examples of which were previously funded by the Army (Kraemer, 1973; Stewart, Danielian, & Foster, 1969). However, these earlier attempts focused primarily on developing cultural self-awareness, which CULP findings indicate is only one aspect of cross-cultural competence and does not directly address the skills needed in cross-cultural settings.

The ideal solution for cross-cultural education and training likely includes some combination of the three components of cross-cultural competence, region-specific knowledge, and language proficiency described above. These three approaches reflect the three components of overall cultural capability depicted in Figure 1. The relative emphasis of each should shift over the professional life cycle and in response to operational demands. With fewer competing demands, PME can best incorporate a greater culture-general focus, with an increasing regional focus for mid- to senior-level leaders. PME can also provide opportunities to develop deeper language skills that will either be maintained or contribute to further language learning. In contrast, pre-deployment training should focus on the region-specific knowledge essential to operating in the relevant culture, as well as critical vocabulary in the relevant language(s). Constraints on time during pre-deployment do not allow for the acquisition of more advanced knowledge and skills training; this period instead provides opportunities to practice the skills acquired through PME and self-development.

Leader education already addresses some of the skills identified in the CULP analysis as contributing to intercultural effectiveness; however, the generalization of these skills to cross-cultural situations may not occur without explicitly emphasizing them and providing opportunities for practice. Providing supplemental materials to instructors and ensuring they are prepared to use them appropriately is one way to capitalize on the overlap between leadership competencies and cross-

cultural competence. Incorporating culture into learning objectives and explicitly addressing culture in existing training and education will be the best way to integrate cultural considerations into full-spectrum operations.

Conclusions

The CULP analysis did not fully address all of the initial questions to an equal degree; findings were somewhat limited by the available literature and input of workshop participants. For example, the empirical research literature did not clearly indicate what aspects of cultural knowledge are most useful to functioning outside one's home culture, nor did empirical evidence indicate what cultural differences are most important to operational contexts in the Army. Education and training for cultural knowledge remain based primarily in anecdotal accounts and theory, and future research should address the knowledge domain more systematically.

A second limitation is that although previous research has produced a large body of literature on predictors of success in cross-cultural settings, less research has addressed intercultural, or global, leadership. This topic is often discussed in management research, with some notable contributions in recent years (e.g., Mendenhall & Oddou, *in press*). However, empirical research has lagged behind theoretical developments and behind research on cross-cultural competence more generally. Thus, this analysis focused instead on cross-cultural competence, aspects of which likely contribute to and provide a foundation for developing global leadership. But the knowledge, skills, and characteristics needed to lead across cultural boundaries have not yet been differentiated from dimensions of cross-cultural competence. Future research will need to address the extent to which global leadership and cross-cultural competence are similar concepts, possibly focusing on different points in an individual's development, and the extent to which they diverge.

Although some questions remain, the CULP analysis offers some clear conclusions on the role of culture-general knowledge and skills. Even in samples who must adapt to only one foreign culture, such as students studying abroad or managers on an international assignment, culture-general constructs consistently emerged as important characteristics. For the Army, the role of cross-cultural competence is likely even stronger. Preparing general-purpose forces to engage in full-spectrum operations around the globe, with a diverse and potentially changing group of coalition partners, is a complex challenge that cannot be met with a single approach. Language and culture-specific knowledge are important tools, but do not in themselves provide full-spectrum cultural capability. General-purpose forces must have a broad set of tools to draw from, which include skills and affect, and continue their development over time.

The Army has already made steps in that direction. Cultural considerations are now evident throughout Army doctrine, and training and education have changed as a result of lessons learned in Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom. Other developments will help ensure that such changes are institutionally supported, such TRADOC G-2's work on drafting a culture and language training strategy, which the CULP analysis has helped to inform. This analysis can further be used to identify learning domains to be targeted by education, training, and leader development and for building assessment tools that support individual development and highlight training needs. Continued

research in this area will be an important resource as the Army refines its institutional changes in anticipation of future operational demands.

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Appendix A

Acronyms

ARI	U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences
CAC	Combined Arms Center
CAL	Center for Army Leadership
CGSC	Command and General Staff College
CULP	Cultural Understanding and Language Proficiency
DoD	Department of Defense
DOTMLPF	Doctrine, Organization, Training, Materiel, Leader Development, Personnel, Facilities
FM	Field Manual
GLOBE	Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness
HQDA	Headquarters, Department of the Army
MOS	Military Occupational Specialty
PME	Professional Military Education
SME	Subject matter expert
TRADOC	Training and Doctrine Command

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